Br Lattimer L-3 (1866-93) 1937 AV3 Dard AV3
Chitral

rather the sphere of influence, of Afghanistan, was distasteful to tribes attached to their hereditary rulers or to republican institutions and was not too willingly accepted by the Amir of Afghanistan, who now expects us to defend the white Elephants that we have given him better than we did Panjdeh. Some Mullás that had fled from Russian tyranny to Afghan territory assured me that "the finger of an Afghan was more oppressive than the whole Russian army." Indeed, so far as Central Asia is concerned, Russia, with the exception of certain massacres, has hitherto behaved, on the whole, as a great civilizing power.*

As for Sirdar Nizám-ul-Mulk, this is his *name* and not his *title*. He is the "Mihtar" or "Prince" Nizám-ul-Mulk, and neither an Indian "Sirdár" nor a "Nizám." He is also the "guardian" of a minor, and being the eldest assigned to him in his father's lifetime as the heir-apparent. He was snubbed by us for offering to relieve that excellent officer, Col. Lockhart, when a prisoner in Wakhan! He has written to me from Turkish for "English phrases and words with their Persian equivalents as a pleasure and a requirement." This does not look like hostility to the British. He spoke to me in 1886 of his brother Afzul's bravery with affection and pride, though he has ever maintained his own acknowledged right as the successor of his father Amán-ul-Mulk. If he has been alienated from us or has ever been tempted to throw himself into the arms of Russia, it has most assuredly been our fault. Besides, just as we have abandoned the Sikh Hazaras, our true friends during the late Afghan War, to be destroyed by their religious and political foe, the Sunni Amir Abdurrahman, so have the Amir Sher Ali and the Thum of Hunza, Safdar Ali Khan, used their

* In spite of Russian attempts to supplant the orthodox Mahommedans of Turkey and thus to take the place of the British as "the Protector of Islám," the news of the revision of the Koran by a Russian Consul and the threat of putting up the Czar's portrait in Central Asian Mosques, have injured Russia's propaganda among Mahommedans, whom also the accounts of the persecution of the Jews have estranged from a Power that began to rule in Central Asia by opening and constructing Mosques, helping Mongol Schools and even subsidising an employé to call "the faithful" to fast and dwell-fast during the month of Ramazán.

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trust in Russian Agents. I regret, therefore, to find in the *Times* telegram of to-day that "the Nizám" "is acting without the support of the British Agent" "who has not interfered," when he had already interfered in favour of the usurper Afzul-ul-Mulk.

As for the connivance of Amir Abdurrahman, my "rough history of Dardistan from 1800 to 1872" shows that, in one sense, Chitrál is tributary to Badakhshán and as we have assigned Badakhshán to the Amir, he, no doubt, takes an interest in Chitrál affairs. I believe, however, that interest to be somewhat platonic, and he knows that his friend Jehandár Shah (the late wrongfully deposed hereditary ruler of Badakhshán) never paid any tribute to Afghanistan. But Chitrál once also paid tribute to Dir, with whose able Chief, Rahmat-ullah Khan, "the Nizám" is connected by marriage. Chitrál on the other hand has *received* a subsidy from Kashmir since 1877, but this was as much a tribute from Kashmir to Aman-ul-Mulk, as a sign of his subjection to Kashmir, for shortly after he made offers of allegiance to Kabul. With all alike it is

> "The good old rule, the simple plan,
> That they should take who have the power,
> And they should keep who can."

It is misleading to speak of their relations to neighbouring States as "tributary." Are the Khyberis tributary to us or we to them, because we pay them a tribute to let our merchants travel through their Pass? Have we never ourselves come, first as suppliants, then as merchants, then as guests, then as advisers, then as protectors, and, finally, as conquerors?

The procedure of Afghanistan, of Chitrál, of Kashmir, and of our own is very much alike and so are the several radii of influence of the various factors in "the question." We have our fringe of independent frontier tribes with whom we flirt, or wage war, as suits the convenience of the moment. Afghanistan has a similar fringe of independent Ishmaelites round it and even through it, whose hands are against everybody and everybody's hands against them.

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Chitral

Chitrál is threatened all along its line by the Kafirs, who even make a part of Badakhshán insecure, but are nevertheless our very good friends. Kashmir has its fringe on its extreme border, especially since, in violation of our treaty of 1846, it has attacked countries *beyond the Indus on the west*, including the Kunjûtis of Hunza, who resumed their raiding—which had ceased in 1867—during and after Col. Lockhart's visit in 1886. Yet there can be little doubt about "the loyalty" of those concerned. The Amirs of Afghanistan consider themselves "*shields of India*," as I have heard two of them say, and so did our Ally of Kashmir, who ought never to have been reduced to a subordinate feudatory position. What wonder then that old Amán-ul-Mulk of Chitrál should also have tried to become a buffer between Afghanistan on the West, Kashmir on the East, India on the South and, latterly, Russia in the North, if indeed the whole story of Russian intrigue in Chitrál be at all truer than a similar mare's nest which we discovered in Hunza? It is the policy of Russia to create false alarms and thereby to involve us in expenditure, whilst standing by and posing as the future saviour of the tribes. Our tendency to compromises and subservient Commissions of delimitation and to "scuttling" occasionally, is also well known and so we are offered in Russian papers "*an Anglo-Russian understanding on the subject of Chitrál*," as if Chitrál was not altogether out of the sphere of Russia's legitimate influence! It is also amusing to find in the *Novosti* that Russia's sole desire is "to prevent *Afghanistan* from falling into British hands." We are already spending at Gilgit on food etc. for our troops more in one year than were spent in the 40 years of the so-called mismanagement of Kashmir, which I myself steadily exposed, but which kept the frontier far more quiet than it has been since the revival of the Gilgit Agency. There is every prospect now of heavier and continued expenditure, as the policy of the Foreign Department of the Government of India develops. On that policy a *veto* should at once be put

Kashmir AV1
1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3

Part I. of a large work, I may claim to speak with some authority as regards these districts, even if I had no other claim. The point which I wish to specially contradict at present, is the one relating to the Russians bringing themselves into almost direct contact with "the Hunza and other tribes subject to Kashmir and, as such, entitled to British protection and under British control."

When I crossed the then Kashmir frontier in 1866, in the disguise of a Bokhara Maulvi, armed with a testimonial of Muhammadan theological learning, I found that the tribes of Hunza, Nagyr, Dareyl, Yasin, and Chitrál had united under the leadership of the last-named to expel the Kashmir invaders from the Gilgit Fort. My mission was a purely linguistic one; but the sight of dying and dead men along the road, that of heads stuck up along the march of the Kashmir troops, and the attempts made on my life by our feudatory, the late Maharaja of Kashmir, compelled me to pay attention to other matters besides the languages, legends, songs, and fables of the interesting races with whom I now came in contact under circumstances that might not seem to be favourable to the accomplishment of my task. I had been warned by the then Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, Sir Donald McLeod, whose like we have not seen again, not to cross the frontier, as the tribes beyond were supposed to be cannibals; but as I could not get the information of which I was in search within our frontier, I had to cross it. My followers were frightened off by all sorts of wild stories, till our party was reduced from some fifty to three, including myself. The reason for all this was, that the Maharaja was afraid that I should find out and report his breach of the Treaty by which we sold Kashmir to him in 1846, and in which the Indus is laid down as his boundary on the west. In 1866, therefore, at any rate, even the tenure of Gilgit, which is on the other side of the Indus, was contested and illegal, whilst the still more distant Hunza and Nagyr had more than once inflicted serious punishment on the Kashmir

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3

troops that sought to invade districts that have preserved their autonomy during the last fourteen centuries, as was admitted by *The Times* of the 2nd November, 1891, before its present change with the times, if an unintentional pun may be permitted.

Then, as ever, the Anglo-Indian newspapers spoke of Russian intrigues in those regions. I am perfectly certain that if, instead of the fussiness of our statesmen and the sensationalism of our journals, the languages, history, and relations of these little-known races had been studied by them, we should never have heard of Russia in that part of the East. It is also not by disingenuousness and short cuts on maps or in diplomacy, but by *knowledge*, that physical, ethnographical, and political problems are to be solved; nor will the bold and brilliant robberies of Russia be checked by our handing over the inhabitants of the supposed "cradle of the human race" to Affghan, Kashmir, or Chinese usurpations. Above all, it is a loss of time to palm off myths as history in order to suit the policy or conceal the ignorance of the moment.

Just as little as Darwaz and Karategin are ancestral dominions of Bokhara, and, therefore, under Russian influence, so little did even Badakhshan, and much less so, Raushan, Shignan, and Wakhan, ever really belong to Affghanistan. As for the Chinese hold on Turkistan, we ourselves denied it when we coquetted with Yakub Khush Begi, though Kitái was ever the acknowledged superior of Eastern Turkistan. If Hunza admits any allegiance, it is to China, and not to Kashmir; and the designations of offices of rule in that country are of Chinese, and not of Aryan origin, including even "Thàm," the title of its Raja.

As a matter of fact, however, the vast number of tribes that inhabit the many countries between the Indus and the Kuner own no master except their own tribal head or the tribal council. From kidnapping Hunza, where the right to plunder is monarchical, hereditary, and "ayeshó" = "heaven-born," to the peace and learning of republican Kandiá or

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3
Burushe AV7

Gabriál, all want to be left alone. If a neighbour becomes troublesome, he is raided on till an interchange of presents restores harmony. It is impossible to say that either side is tributary to the other. The wealthier gives the larger present; the bigger is considered the superior in a general sort of way, and so two horses, two dogs, and a handful of gold dust are yearly sent by Hunza to Kashmir or to Yarkand as a cloak for much more substantial exactions in return. Nagyr sends a basket of apricots instead of the horses and dogs. In 1871 Chitrál still paid a tribute to Badakhshan in slaves, but it would be absurd to infer from this fact that Chitrál ever acknowledged the suzerainty of Jehandar Shah, or of the Affghan faction that dispossessed him. Nor were the Khaibaris, or other highway robbers, our rulers, because we paid them blackmail, or they our subjects because they might bring us "sweetmeats."

D 648 B 648

The points in which most Englishmen are as deficient as Russians are generally proficient, are language and a sympathetic manner with natives. That, however, linguistic knowledge is not useless may be inferred from the fact that it enabled me, to use the words of my Chief, Commissary General H. S. Jones, C.B., during the Russian War in 1855, "to pass unharmed through regions previously unknown and among tribes hitherto unvisited by any European."

Also in topography and geography linguistics are necessary; and the absurd mistakes now made at certain learned societies and in certain scientific journals, regarding the Pamirs, would be avoided by a little study of the Oriental languages concerned. In 1866, the map which accompanies my philological work on "Dardistan" shows, on linguistic grounds, and on the basis of native itineraries, the various Pamirs that have been partially revealed within the last few weeks, or have been laboriously ascertained by expensive Russian and British expeditions between 1867 and 1890. The publication of my material, collected at my own expense and which shall no longer be delayed, would have saved many complications; but when, *e.g.*, I pointed out,

1: Leitner L-3 (1868-93) 18937 AV3 Dard AV3

Kafirs [whom I include in the term "Dards"] is very little. My informants were two Kafir lads, who lived for some weeks in my compound and whose religious notions had, no doubt, been affected on their way down through Kashmir. That they go once a year to the top of a mountain as a religious exercise and put a stone on to a cairn; that the number of Muhammadan heads hung up in front of their doors indicates their position in the tribe; that they are said to sit on benches rather than squat on the ground like other Asiatics; that they are reported to like all those who wear a curl in front; that they are fair and have blue eyes; that they drink a portion of the blood of a killed enemy—this and the few words which have been collected of their language is very nearly all we have hitherto known about them. What I have been able to ascertain regarding them, will be mentioned elsewhere.*

H. FORMS OF GOVERNMENT AMONG THE DARDS.

Chilâs, which sends a tribute every year to Kashmir for the sake of larger return-presents rather than as a sign of subjection, is said to be governed by a council of elders, in which even women are admitted.† When I visited Gilgit, in 1866, it was practically without a ruler, the invading troops of Kashmir barely holding their own within a few yards of the Gilgit Fort—a remarkable construction which, according to the report of newspapers, was blown up by accident in 1876, and of which the only record is the drawing published in the *Illustrated London News* of the 12th February 1870.‡ There is now (1877) a Thanadar of Gilgit, whose rule is probably not very different from that of his rapacious colleagues in Kashmir. The Gilgitis are kept quiet by the presence of the Kashmir army, and

* Since writing the above in 1867, a third Kafir from Katár has entered my service, and I have derived some detailed information from him and others regarding the languages and customs of this mysterious race, which will be embodied in my next volume. [This note was written in 1872.]

† I have heard this denied by a man from Sazín, but state it on the authority of two Chilâsis who were formerly in my service.

‡ My Saziní says that only a portion of the Fort was blown up.

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3

by the fact that their chiefs are prisoners at Srinagar, where other representatives of once reigning houses are also under surveillance. Mansur Ali Khan, the supposed rightful Raja of Gilgit is there; he is the son of Asghar Ali Khan, son of Raja Khan, son of Gurtam Khan—but legitimate descent has little weight in countries that are constantly disturbed by violence, except in Hunza, where the supreme right to rob is hereditary.* The Gilgitis, who are a little more settled than their neighbours to the West, North and South, and who possess the most refined Dardu dialect and traditions, were constantly exposed to marauding parties, and the late ruler of Yasin, Gouhar-Amán, who had conquered Gilgit, made it a practice to sell them into slavery on the pretext that they were Shiahs and infidels. Yasin was lately ruled by Mir Wali, the supposed murderer of Mr. Hayward, and is a dependency of Chitrál, a country which is ruled by Amán-ul-mulk. The Hunza people are under Ghazan Khan, the son of Ghazanfar,† and seem to delight in plundering their Kirghiz neighbours, although all travellers through that inhospitable region, with the exception of Badakhshan merchants, are impartially attacked by these robbers, whose depredations have caused the nearest pass from Central Asia to India to be almost entirely deserted (1866). At Gilgit I saw the young Raja of Nagyr, with a servant, also a Nagyri. He was a most amiable and intelligent lad, whose articulation was very much more refined than that of his companion, who prefixed a guttural to every Khajuná word beginning with a vowel. The boy was kept a prisoner in the Gilgit Fort as a hostage to Kashmir for his father's good behaviour,

* *Vide* "History of Dardistan" for details of the contending dynasties of that region, pages 67 to 110.

† Major Montgomery remarks "the coins have the word Gujanfar on them, the name, I suppose, of some emblematic animal. I was however unable to find out its meaning." The word is غضنفر, Ghazanfar [which means in *Arabic:* lion, hero] and is the name of the former ruler of Hunza whose name is on the coins. In Hunza itself, coined money is unknown. [For changes since 1866, see "Hunza and Nagyr Handbook, 1893."]

1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3

and it was with some difficulty that he was allowed to see me and answer certain linguistic questions which I put to him. If he has not been sent back to his country, it would be a good opportunity for our Government to get him to the Panjab in the cold weather with the view of our obtaining more detailed information than we now possess regarding the Khajuná, that extraordinary language to which I have several times alluded. [This was done on my second official mission to Kashmir in 1886.]

The name of *Rá, Rásh, Raja*, applied to Muhammadans, may sound singular to those accustomed to connect them with Hindu rulers. but it is the ancient name for "King" at Gilgit (for which "Nawab" seems a modern substitute in that country)—whilst Shah Kathor* in Chitrál, Tham in Hunza and Nagyr, Mitérr (Mihtar) and Bakhté in Yasin and Trakhné in Gilgit offer food for speculation. The Hunza people say that the King's race is Mogholote (or Mogul?); they call the King *Sawwash* and affirm that he is Aishea (this probably means that he is descended from Ayesha, the wife of Muhammad).† Under the king or chief, for the time being, the most daring or intriguing hold office and a new element of disturbance has now been introduced into Dardistan by the Kashmir faction at every court [or rather robber's nest] which seeks to advance the interests or ulterior views of conquest of the Dogra

* This was the *name* of the grandfather of Amán-ul-Mulk, the present ruler of Chitrál (1877). Cunningham says that the *title* of "Kathor" has been held for 2000 years. I may incidentally mention that natives of India who had visited Chitrái did not know it by any other name than "Kashkar" the name of the principal town, whilst Chitrál was called "a Kafir village surrounded by mountains" by Neyk Muhammad, a Lughmáni Nimtsha (or half) Mussulman in 1866.

† This is the plausible Gilgit story, which will, perhaps, be adopted in Hunza when it becomes truly Muhammadan. In the meanwhile, my endeavour in 1866 to find traces of Alexander the Great's invasion in Dardistan, has led to the adoption of the myth of descent from that Conqueror by the Chinese Governor or the ancient hereditary "Thám" of Hunza, who really is "*ayeshó*," or "heaven-born," owing to the miraculous conception of a female ancestor. "Mogholot" is the direct ancestor of the kindred Nagyr line, "Girkis," his twin-brother and deadly foe, being the ancestor of the Hunza dynasty. (See Genealogy on pages 69 and 111.)

101 131 from the Burzil Pass to the Sharot village, a distance of 143 miles from south-east towards north-west with its small surrounding valleys of Kamri, Tarsing, Parising, Sai, Haramosh and Bagrot; and along the Hunza river from Gilgit to Guech, with its adjacent valley of Naltar, a distance of 24 miles.

125 631 The country was first conquered in 1846 by the troops of His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir under Syed Nathe Shah from Gauhar Aman, the Khushwakti Chief of Yasin, who had usurped the district from Sikander Khan and his brother Karim Khan, the rightful rulers of Gilgit. Karim Khan had escaped to Kashmir to ask for help, and returned with a large force under Syed Nathe Shah. Hearing the news of their approach, Gauhar Aman fled to Yasin, leaving the country to be possessed by them without bloodshed. The country was restored to the rightful rulers, but some later events lead the Maharaja of Kashmir to keep the district under the direct jurisdiction of ● [648] his own officials. The British Agency was established in 1889. The Political Agent, an officer of the Government of India, and the Wazir-i-Wazarat, an official of His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir, have their headquarters at Gilgit proper. The latter has jurisdiction over the district only, while the former, in addition to his control over Gilgit, has political relations with the surrounding states of Hunza, Nagir, Punial, Ishkuman, Yasin, Ghizr and the Chilas republic, which all acknowledge the suzerainty of the Kashmir Durbar. Gilgit is garrisoned by Kashmir Imperial Service Troops under a General Officer Commanding appointed by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir. The troops are relieved every two years.

491 205 206 A good pony road runs between Srinagar, Gilgit, Chitral and Hunza, remaining open for traffic from June to October. It is closed from November to May, owing to the heavy fall of snow on the Tragbal (Rajdiagan) and the Burzil passes. However, the ordinary letter post is carried across the passes at favourable opportunities by local runners. Kashmir, Gilgit and Chitral are also connected by a telegraph line.

162 795 619 101 [174] The present inhabitants of the country are all Muhammadans, chiefly of the Shia sect, with a few Sunnis and Maulais. The principal tribes are Ronos, Shins, Yeshkuns Kashmiris, Kramins, Dums and Gujars. They are again divided into several families called after the names of distinguished ancestors. I am of the opinion that the Kramins are the original inhabitants of Gilgit, while the Yeshkuns, Shins and Ronos came afterwards in the above order and conquered the former inhabitants.

101 619 563 The Yeshkuns are probably an Aryan race, having arrived from Central Asia *vid* the Hindu Kush. Being stronger than the aborigines, they succeeded in conquering these districts, made the original inhabitants their servants and named them "Kramins" (attendants).

101 [795] 619 The Shins profess to be the descendants of Arabs. They are probably Jews, and have come *vid* Afghanistan from either Persia or Turkey. They prefer a style of self-government, and endeavour wherever they settle to continue this form of their original government. It is of interest to note, however, that before embracing Islam the Shins, in this resembling the Hindus, disliked meat, milk or even *ghi* made from cow's milk, disapproved of the keeping of fowls and regarded even a fish diet with aversion. If a Shin had taken two wives, one of his own tribe and the other of the Yeshkun tribe, the children

~~18~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3

361 valleys of Doodooshal and Kandbari, can muster about 3,000
161 fighting men, but the people are neither fanatical nor turbulent. Since 1860 Darel has paid a yearly tribute to Cashmere
648 of four tolas of gold dust; but no Cashmere officials ever enter the country, and the state of the community differs in no respect from that of other Kohistan republics. In the autumn of 1866 the Cashmere troops invaded Darel in two columns, to chastise the people for joining the rulers of Chitral and Yassin in an attack upon Gilgit. The only resistance met with was at the foot of one of the passes, where a breastwork had been erected across the defile. After a day's resistance the Darelis fled, fearing probably to be taken in rear by the flanking column, and in the pursuit suffered considerably. The whole population fled to the mountains, and no further resistance was offered A few of the Darel leaders were hung, and after a brief stay the troops returned, not without considerable difficulty owing to an unusually early fall of snow, which caused the loss of over a hundred men. Since then Darel has given no trouble to
316 Cashmere. The Kandbari Valley is popularly credited with great mineral wealth, from which probably it derives its name. No mines, however, are now worked there.

361 Above Darel is the small community of Hodar, which has paid a yearly tribute of two tolas of gold-dust to Cashmere since 1860. From the head of the Hodar Valley a road
[167] leads into the Gilgit Valley. In Hodar there is a small settlement of Cashmeri refugees, who fled from the severity of the Pathan rule about a hundred years ago.

Above Hodar are the small valleys of Talpin and Gies, which support a scanty population. The former is a dependency of Chilas, but Gies is claimed both by Chilas and Gor, between which communities disputes have of late become frequent in consequence. From the heads of both of these, good roads lead into the Gilgit Valley. Continuing up the right bank of the Indus, Gor, the last Yaghestan community on that bank, is reached, standing on a high plateau two miles from the river. Notwithstanding its exposed position and its proximity to Chilas, idolatrous customs have lingered in Gor longer than in any other place in Shinkari, and are even now scarcely extinct. Gor can furnish 500 fighting
648 men, and in ancient times was always closely connected with Gilgit. Since the establishment of the Sikh rule across the Indus, Gor has paid to Cashmere a yearly tribute of twelve goats, and is bound to furnish one man from each house for

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4 AV3 Dard AV3

military service in time of war. It also gives three hostages for good conduct, who are changed periodically. The people of Gor claim to have been Mussulmans for only three generations, and are all Soonnees.

There are three forts in Gor, named Loosonotkot, Doolotkot, and Tunelkot. The people of Gor have always been friendly with Chilas. At present Gor is noted in the Kohistan for the good quality of the wool it produces. The tradition is still preserved of the god Taiban, who was the tutelary deity of Gor, and whose worship was continued to a very recent date. A rude sculpture of a horse still exists, which is named "Taiban's horse." Even now Taiban is invoked occasionally as a witness of a solemn covenant. Along the river, at intervals the whole way from Gor to Seo, are said to be a number of ancient rock inscriptions.

A few miles above Gor the small detached village of Thalich forms the extreme limit of Yaghestan, consisting only of 11 houses: it forms, as Mr. Drew observes, the smallest of independent communities. The people of Thalich make common cause with those of Chilas, of whom they are an offshoot, and are protected by them against more powerful enemies.

Above Herbund, on the left bank, is the large community of Chilas, which embraces six valleys. The principal villages are Tor, 200 houses; Chilas, 140 houses; Geen, 5 houses; Takk, 80 houses; and Booner, 60 houses. Chilas can furnish about 1,500 fighting men, without counting a number of immigrants from other communities who have lately settled in the country. Roads lead from Khaghan in the Hazara country by the Babusar Pass to the Indus in seven days, and from Shardi in the Kishengunga Valley by the Shotô Pass in five days. There is also a road from Astor by the Mazenoo Pass, only practicable at any time for men on foot, and closed in winter, by which Booner is reached in four days. The road up the Indus from Chilas is difficult and almost impassable even for men on foot. This difficulty of access has given the Chilasis a spirit of independence, and a distinctive character among all the Kohistan communities. Though but comparatively recent converts to Islam, they are bigoted and fanatical beyond all other Dards, owing, it is said, to Chilas having been at all times a favourite resort of Moollahs from Swat. Being Soonnees, every Shiah who falls into their hands is put to death without being reserved for the usual alternative of slavery. The whole community can muster 3,000 men capable of bearing arms, and have at all times borne a high reputation for bravery.

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4 AV3 Dard AV3

000 and have at all times borne a high reputation for bravery. In
● 648 former days, Chilas, with the neighbouring valleys of Darel and Gor, owed allegiance to Gilgit, but the Chilasis were notorious for the way in which they tyrannised over the whole surrounding country, making frequent raids, plundering and carrying off men, women, and children into slavery. The Cashmere, Kishengunga, Astor, and Gilgit Valleys were frequently laid under contribution, and they boast of having once plundered Iskardo. During the Sikh occupation of Cashmere, an expedition was sent against Chilas, but sustained a disastrous defeat. Permission was granted by the British Government, in 1851, to the Maharajah Golab Sing to exact reprisals for a successful raid, and two columns entered Chilas,—one from Cashmere by the Lolab Valley, and one from Astor by the Mazenoo Pass. The Chilas fort was taken, and the Chilasis made submission, agreeing to pay a yearly tribute of a hundred goats and five tolas of gold, and engaging that the fort of Chilas should not
[712] be re-built. Takk is now the only fortified place in Chilas. Since then Chilas has given no trouble to the Cashmere Government. Three hostages reside in Cashmere, and are changed yearly. Cashmere officials do not, however, visit the country, and any attempt to exercise authority would probably be resisted.

533 The love of music, dancing, and polo, which are so marked
535 among all the neighbouring communities, are unknown in
526 Chilas; and ponies, which are common enough elsewhere, are scarce.

361 The country is bare and treeless. The village of Chilas is
[133] situated about half a mile from the Indus, on a plain three miles in length, and from a mile to a mile and a half in breadth, sloping gently down to the river. Booner, though a dependency of Chilas, has paid a separate tribute to Cashmere of twelve
173 goats and three tolas of gold since 1842. The Chilasis relate that in former times a Hindoo Rajah, named Chachai, ruled in Chilas over the whole of Shinkari, but that, dying childless, his country became divided into republican communities, as at present. In later days a disastrous civil war broke out in the community between two brothers, Bôt and Matchuk, which ended in the defeat and expulsion of all the partizans of the latter. The Bôte are now the most prosperous family in Chilas.[1] Tradition still preserves the name of Naron, a

[1] This is perhaps the origin of the name "Bôte," applied indiscriminately to all Dards by Cashmere officials.

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4 AV3 Dard AV3

136 be found numerous flocks of the wild sheep (*O. Vignei*). At an elevation of 11,000 feet, wild onions grow in great profusion, and to this fact the range is indebted for its Chinese name Tsungling. (The Onion Mountains.)

133 The principal difficulty in communication is caused by
135 the rivers, which in winter are shrunk to small dimensions,
but in summer, fed by snow-fields and glaciers of enormous
316 extent, become impassable torrents, bringing down tons of soil in their turbid waters. Many of the streams are rich in gold, especially those flowing from the great Rakiposh Mountain, and it is probable that a scientific search for minerals
[823] would be well repaid. The natives believe that the gold is generated by the glaciers, because the greatest quantity is found in the glacier mud, and there are traditions of small but rich veins of earth having been occasionally laid bare by earthquakes. Gold-washing is only practised in winter, and then by none but the poorest and meanest of the population, though the quantity found even with the rude apparatus employed is sometimes very remunerative. The gold itself is of fair quality, the best being of twenty carats.

361 Nearly half way between Gilgit and the Indus is the
316 Bagrot Valley, which contains several flourishing villages, and is capable of supporting a population of 2,000 or 3,000 souls. The Bagrot gold-washings are celebrated for the quantity and fine quality of the gold they yield, and the valley contains many signs of mineral wealth. It was a favourite summer resort of the old Gilgit rulers, and was their last place of
[564] refuge when hard pressed by external enemies. The Bagrot people belong almost entirely to the Shin caste.

133 A mile below Gilgit itself the Hunza River joins that of Gilgit. Though fordable in winter, this is in summer a deep and rapid torrent more than a hundred yards in breadth, bringing down with it an enormous quantity of soil from the lofty
[648] mountains it drains. Cashmere jurisdiction extends some 25 miles up the valley to a point at which the river makes a sudden bend from a westerly course to south-south-east. As generally happens where these abrupt changes of course in a stream are found, the river here flows between perpendicular rocks, across the face of which none but the most expert cragsmen can find a path. On the occasion of my visit to Hunza in 1876, I suddenly found myself confronted with a more difficult and dangerous piece of ground than I had ever traversed in a tolerably large experience of Himalayan sport. For nearly half a mile it was necessary to scramble over

~~Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 AVI-Afghanistan AV2~~
AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

rocky ledges, sometimes letting oneself down nearly to the water's edge, then ascending 300 or 400 feet above the stream, holding on by corners of rock, working along rocky shelves 3 or 4 inches wide, and round projecting knobs and corners where no four-footed animal less agile than a wild goat could find a path. D 133

Immediately above the bend of the river is the district of Chaprot, consisting of the fort and village of that name and three other villages. This has always been a fruitful source of contention among the rulers of the three states of Hunza, Nager, and Gilgit, between which it is situated, principally on account of the fort, which, according to local ideas, is impregnable. It is situated in the angle formed by the junction of two streams, with high precipitous banks, and can therefore only be approached from one side. It has belonged in turns to all three states, but at present is garrisoned by Cashmere troops. Continuing up the valley to the eastward, at about 52 miles from Gilgit, the residences of the rulers of the two states of Hunza and Nager are reached, the river forming the boundary between the wild two. D 361 648 B 131 361

The view of the great Rakiposh Mountain from the north side is truly striking. From the water's edge it rises without a break for 19,000 feet to its topmost peak, which is over 25,000 feet above the sea-level. Its lofty sides, girdled with dark pine forest and seamed with glaciers and *mers-de-glace*, some of which reach nearly down to the water's edge, overlook numerous fertile settlements which are nourished by streams flowing from the great mountain. Above the forests extensive fields of snow sparkle and glitter in the summer sun, while, overtopping all, great points of granite, on whose steep sides the snow can scarce find a resting-place, give emphasis and unity to a scene not easily forgotten. B 133

Above Hunza the course of the river, which rises in the Hindoo Koosh, lies entirely in Hunza territory. The people of these two states, of whom so little is known, have been counted as mere robber tribes, who have brought themselves into notice by their depredations on the caravans between Yarkund and Leh. This is, however, scarcely a just estimation of them. They are of the same stock as the people of Yassin, Ponyal, and the majority of the people of Gilgit and the neighbouring valleys. So far from being mere robber tribes, they are settled agricultural communities, living under rulers who boast of their long unbroken descent from princes of native blood. Hemmed in by lofty mountains, they are B 721 B 144 B 193 186

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 Afgh-Afghanistan-Afg
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AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

In Hunza there is a tradition preserved of the occurrence B
at some remote period of a Mongol invasion, but no clue 173
exists to the approximate date. It is said to have taken
place at a period before the separation of Hunza from Nager.
In more recent times a prince of Nager is related to have
visited Cashmere to seek assistance from Shah Jehan, which
was granted, and the prince thereby enabled to expel his
brother and make himself master of the country. Bernier
mentions another prince from this neighbourhood, by name
Bowali Khan, applying in a similar manner for assistance to
Shah Jehan. This prince appears to have belonged to the
family of the rulers of Iskardo or Shigar.

During the rule of Ghasanfur Khan, the father of the
present Thum of Hunza, Nager was temporarily forced to
give allegiance to the Hunza ruler, who had secured the
active alliance of Suleiman Shah, of the Khushwakté
family.

Returning into the Gilgit Valley, 19 miles above Gilgit, D
the Ponyal District is reached. This stretches for some 131
22 miles up to the Yassin frontier. Of old an appanage of
Gilgit, Ponyal became in later times a bone of contention D
between the rulers of Yassin and Gilgit, who each possessed 173
it in turn for a time, till it finally came into the pos-
session of Cashmere in 1860. Soomalik, whose name will
be found in the genealogy of the Gilgit Ras, is said to have
given Ponyal as a dowry with his daughter to a prince of
Chitral. At a later date it became an independent republic
for a time, till a certain Shôt, a native of Darel, made himself
Thum of Ponyal, but was shortly afterwards slain by Shah
Pershah, of the Khushwakté family of Yassin, who established
his son Booroosh as ruler. The present Ra of Ponyal,
Akbar Khan, is a descendant of Booroosh, his father having
been re-established and confirmed in his possession by the
Cashmere Government in return for services rendered in the
wars which finally established the Dogra rule on the right P
bank of the Indus. Cashmere troops garrison Ponyal, and 648
grave cases are under the jurisdiction of the Gilgit officials,
but no revenue is paid either to Cashmere or to Akbar Khan,
who receives in lieu a fixed subsidy from the Maharajah, in
consideration of which he is bound to maintain a certain
number of men to guard the frontier posts in time of peace, and
to render military service in war. But for this arrangement,
Cashmere would hardly have been able to make good its
footing west of the Indus, and its success in this matter may
be said to be entirely owing to the father of Akbar Khan.

Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 Afgh-Afghanistan-Afgh
4: AVJ Dard AVJ Chitral

This estimate does not include the tributary tribe of Bushgali Kaffirs, or the subjects of the Yassin ruler, who is independent of Chitral, though the close relationship existing between the two families causes them to act in concert in all important matters. Both rulers pay a tribute of horses, hawks, and hounds to the Maharajah of Cashmere, to whom they acknowledge allegiance. Iron, copper, and orpiment of superior quality are found in Kashkar. Cotton carpets of an inferior kind, which have the peculiarity of being alike on both sides, are made for local use, and Chitral daggers and sword-hilts are in great demand in the neighbouring valleys. Amongst the people of Kashkar, Chitral is constantly pronounced and written Chitrar and Chitlal. This seems to arise from a curious inability[1] to distinguish between the letters *r* and *l*; in this way Koonur becomes Koonul, Punjkorah Punjkolah, the Lowri Pass the Rowli Pass, &c.

The population of Chitral is a curious and intricate ethnological puzzle. The largest section of the population are the Kho, who inhabit the whole of Kashkar Bala, the Ludkho and Arkari Valleys, and the main valley down to Darosh, and have penetrated across the watershed as far as Chashi. They call the country also Kho, dividing it into different sections under the names *Toor*ikho (*Upper*), *Mool*kho (*Middle*), and *Lud*kho (*Great*), and their language Khowar. This is the language given by Dr. Leitner under the name of Arnyia, by which it is known to the Shins of Gilgit, who style the Yassin portion of Kashkar Bala Arinah. In sound it is soft and musical.[2] Unlike the Shins and other cognate tribes hitherto mentioned, the existence of these people in the localities in which we now find them appears to date from so far back as virtually to entitle them to be considered aboriginal. They may have once occupied a wider extent of country, but there is no trace of their having conquered or displaced any previous race of inhabitants. They were undoubtedly the owners of the country until a period not very remote, and they have succeeded in imposing their language on the present ruling class, who style them contemptuously "Fakir Mushkin." They are divided into classes of which a few are Toryié, Shiré, Darkhané, and Shohané. No caste distinctions exist among them.

Above them is a large privileged class, which is divided into clans like the Afghan Khels, and spread all over Kashkar.

[1] The *l* and *r* are scarcely distinguishable in the old Persian.—Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. III. p. 102.

[2] See Appendix H.

1: Drew G-8 (1962-1972) 1975 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

not well kept up, but they at last took the chief stronghold of the Chilâsis, a fort two or three miles from the Indus River, and reduced those people to some degree of obedience. A few of the slaves were released, but most of them had been sent to neighbouring valleys for safety, and they could not be recovered; as late as 1869 some half dozen of them escaped, and returned to their homes in Astor. The expedition had the effect of frightening the Chilâsis into good behaviour; there has been no raid since. There is even some communication kept up; the people from Tarshing, a village under Nangâ Parbat, now go to Chilâs, while from Chilâs messengers or envoys come to the Maharaja with a yearly tribute and hostages, of whom a certain number remain in Kashmir until, after a year or two, others come in exchange.

It is curious that while the people of Astor are all riders and keep many ponies, these Chilâsis have none, and they used not to attempt to take away any they met with in their raids.

The Astor people, who thus in later times have suffered so much, used formerly, when they were stronger, to do the same kind of thing. Gurez was liable to their attacks, and Drâs also.

The present state of quietness and security is a great change for them all. But the country has not yet recovered the ruin and depopulation. Some new small settlements have indeed been made in the old village sites; attempts have been made to induce the Baltis, who overflow from their own country, to settle; but the inclement climate of the higher part of the valley (where chiefly there is vacant ground), and the absence of the fruit-trees they are so much used to enjoy, deter them.

The most interesting place I visited in the Astor country is the valley which leads up to the base of Nangâ Parbat. Just beyond the last village, Tarshing, one comes to the foot of one of the glaciers that spring from that great mountain.* I went

* The G. T. Survey Map is not accurate in the delineation of these glaciers; they do not in reality unite as there expressed. I have made the correction, as far as I could with certainty, in the map attached to this book. Other small mistakes occur in the Survey Map as to the position of streams and so on in the Astor and Bunji districts: these, though I was able to detect them, I had not time to rectify; so they have been allowed to stand in mine as in the Government Map.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

133 plateau on which the village of Choi is situated, and destroyed the prosperity of that place. On the left bank, the flood, in cutting a cliff, carried away the canal that irrigated another village; and some land and some houses at Tarshing itself were washed away. Lower down, in the Astor Valley, at Gurikot, Dushkin, and other places, some cultivated lands were destroyed, but it does not seem that any lives were lost. A curious thing followed this;—the glacier gradually sunk in level, at the rate of a few yards every year, till it came down to its present position, that is about 100 feet below its former level; at the same time it became crevassed, so that now it is difficult to find a road across. It is evident that at the time the glacier abutted against the rock the ice was being compressed, and the crevasses that may have formerly existed were closed up; afterwards, the water kept open a passage, the ice was cracked off bit by bit as it advanced, and the circumstances that cause crevasses (as inequalities in the bed) acted without opposition. Now again the space between the end of the glacier and the cliff is closed up; the waters at present find a passage for themselves beneath; probably the same process of compression has re-commenced, which may again end in a complete stoppage of the upper drainage, formation of a lake, and subsequent outbreak and flood.

[34] The village of Astor is situated on the western side of the valley, at the junction of one of those tributary valleys which come 641 down from the Nangá Parbat Ridge. It is on the remnant of an 175 alluvial plateau, at a height of some 500 feet above the main river. This place, which used to be the seat of a Dárd Raja, is now a cantonment of the Maharaja's troops, the chief station for the Gilgit Brigade. It is a collection of hundreds of small huts, which the soldiers inhabit in twos and threes; these huts are huddled or crowded together in two or three separate clumps. The number of troops is about 1200; the object of keeping them here rather than nearer the frontier is to save carriage of the supplies, which mostly come from Kashmir; the force is on the

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1878) 1878 AVI Kashmir
Card AV3

right side of the snowy Pass, and is always ready to advance to Gilgit if required. I know very little of the history of Astor. Bernier, who wrote about the year 1660, in enumerating the countries that border Kashmir, speaks of the territories of *Raja Gamea*. Now from geographical position I infer that this was the ruler of Astor. When the Sikhs held Kashmir, the Astor Raja was tributary to them; he had become so without any force having been sent; for a time he remained in quiet. But a curious thing happened. When Wazir Lakpat (who was lieutenant of Zoráwar Singh, who was servant of Raja Gulab Singh, who was a tributary of the Sikhs) was victorious in Skárdú, he came over the Harpo Lá and invaded Astor. Lakpat besieged the Astor fort for four months; at the end of which time it was given up for want of provisions, and the Raja was taken away prisoner to Skárdú; and this though he was on terms of friendship and (in a degree) dependent on the Sikh Governor of Kashmir. At last, representations on the subject went to Lábor, and from there Gulab Singh received directions to desist from interfering with Astor, so the Raja was sent back. But not long afterwards the Sikhs themselves from Kashmir required a passage through the Astor territory on their way to Gilgit (as will be related in Chapter XIX.), and not only so, but they required to make their communications sure; with this object a Sikh post was placed at Astor, and from that time the independence of the Raja diminished; now there is a titular Raja, for whose subsistence some provision is made, whether by pension or from land I do not know.

At Astor and for many miles on there is one general character of the valley; at the bottom it is very narrow; the river is quite confined between the ends of great spurs from the lofty mountain-ridges on both sides; the cultivation is on very small spaces, usually some hundreds of feet above the valley-bottom. The hill-sides are partly broken into cliffs and partly of a smooth surface, grown over with grass in tufts, and with bushes of pencil-cedar scattered over, while in parts sheltered from the sun *Pinus*

In Store G-8 (1863-1872) 1871 A91 Kashmir
Dard A91

132 rained. In winter snow seldom falls, but on occasional years it
133 may do so to the depth of an inch, melting away with the first sun. The mountains round are lofty, rocky, and bare; these increase the summer's heat. There is a fall of about 200 feet to the river Indus, which has here a width of 100 yards; the water flows smoothly, and has, I think, a considerable depth; the ferry is a mile or so above the fort. Immediately opposite comes in the Ile stream, while the Gilgit River falls in a few miles above.

Gilgit.

140 From the mouths of the Dard people, when talking among themselves, in their own language, the sound of this name seemed to my ear such as would properly be represented by the spelling *Gilgit*.* But all people of other races who have had occasion to use the name—Kashmiris, Sikhs, Dogras, and Europeans—have caught the sound as Gilgit, and used this form until it has become so much known that it would be inconvenient, not to say useless, for me to attempt to change the name.

141 The district of Gilgit consists of the lower part of the valley
142 of a river tributary to the Indus, which, rising in the mountains that bound Dashkhúm and Chitrál, flows south-eastward until it falls into the great river, a little above Darwaz. The length of the course of this Gilgit River, speaking roughly and only following the greater changes of direction, is 220 miles, which are thus divided,—Yásin includes a length of 60 miles, Punial of 35 miles, and Gilgit of 35 miles. Yásin is beyond the Maharaja of Kashmir's boundary; Punial is within it, being governed by a Raja dependent on and aided by the Maharaja's power; Gilgit is administered directly by the Maharaja's officers. This refers only to one line of valley—the main one; besides this there are important branch valleys belonging to Yásin, and there is a long tributary valley on the north-east, which is occupied by two other small states—Hunza and Nagar.

* Upon says that the real name of Gilgit is said to be 'Gilit.' Its Lahnda speaks of 'Gulgilan or Gilit.'

In Draw G-8 (1868-1870) 1874 AVI Kashmir
Dated AVI

The lower part of the valley, occupied by Gilgit, is from one to three miles wide; it is bounded on each side by steep rocky mountains; the valley itself contains stony alluvial plateaux of various form, and various level above the river, which flows in cliffs more or less; the greater part of this space is arid and barren, but, as usual, in front of each side ravine is a cultivated space, watered by the side stream, on which is a collection of houses. The line of mountains on the south-west side of the valley is divided most regularly by these ravines; between each of these the steep rocky masses narrow as they rise. On the north-east side the mountains are of an enormous size; they are well seen from the ridge bounding the Ile and Gilgit valleys; the rocky spurs lead back to lofty snowy peaks, one of which is over 25,000 feet in height. In front of each ravine on that side, too, is the wide-spread alluvial fan, with a portion of it watered and cultivated. There the mountains are completely bare, but on the south-west side, high up above the lower cliffs, is a growth of pine-wood.

The village of Gilgit is on one of the watered tracts on the right bank of the river; here the cultivated ground is not part of the fan of a side stream, but is on the flat plain of the river alluvium, which makes a terrace 30 or 40 feet above the water. The cultivation occupies the space of a square mile or so, extending from the river bank to the mountains; the irrigating water comes from the nearest side stream. The houses here, as also in Astor, are flat-topped; they are scattered over the plain in twos and threes among groups of fruit-trees, having been rebuilt in this way after the destruction that occurred in the various wars to which Gilgit has been subject; it will take long for the village to recover the abundance of fruit-trees which used to prevail. The fort of Gilgit is the Maharaja's chief stronghold in Dardistán. It has been at different times taken, destroyed, rebuilt, added to, and altered. In 1870, when I was there, the appearance of it from the south-west was as represented in the sketch on the next page. The central part with the high towers (one of them loftier than the rest) was built by the ruler Gauer Rahmán during his seized reign in Gilgit when the Maharaja Gulab Singh's troops had been for a

Le Drew G-8 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

PUNIAL.

131 Four miles above the village and fort of Gilgit the valley narrows; still there is generally a bit of alluvial plateau on one side or other of the river; a few villages are passed and sites of deserted villages. For a day's march up one is still in the district of Gilgit, which is conterminous with the old Rajaship of Gilgit. Between the villages of Sharot and Gulpur this district ends and Puniál begins.*

132 Puniál is a part of the valley which had long been held by separate Rajas, sometimes I think independent, sometimes depending on one or other of their neighbours—Yásin and Gilgit. The last result of the wars and disturbances that for some generations so much affected these valleys has been to leave Puniál to a ruler of the line of its old Rajas, but under the protection of and in close dependence on, and, in those matters in which interference might be called for, in obedience to, the Maharaja of Kashmir. The district thus held is simply the line of the main 140 valley, all along narrow, from Gulpur up to the village and fort 75 of Gákúch. This is a length of some 25 miles; within it there 141 are nine villages and two or three outlying patches of ground cultivated from the nearest; these villages vary in altitude from 5500 feet to nearly 7000 feet; the chief place is Sher, on the left bank, where the Raja dwells. A characteristic of this part of the valley is that often, after every few miles, one comes to a place where the space is narrowed for a short distance by spurs coming down, so that the passage along is extremely difficult; the name given to these places is *darband*, or "shut-door"; they are of much importance from a military point of view, since at each of them a few might stop an army for a time; but there are usually two roads by which they can be passed—a very difficult one, fit only for agile foot-passengers, along the cliff, and a bridle-path that

* I believe that originally Gulpur itself was under the Gilgit Raja, and that it was granted to Puniál in dowry of one of the daughters of the house. The present actual boundary between Gilgit and Puniál is the stony and sandy plain between Sharot and Gulpur.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

leads a thousand feet or more above; again, in winter, they can sometimes be turned by twice fording the river. 153 361 715

That we have here come to a country exposed to the attacks, or, at all events, the alarms, of surrounding enemies is shown by the arrangement of the villages. At Sher itself, and from that place onwards, all the villagers, with their wives and families and their cattle, live within the fort; village and fort are here synonymous. 361 712

Sher Fort is the strongest hereabouts; it has one face to the bank of the river, whence its supply of water cannot be cut off; all four sides are lofty walls with towers, much in the style of the inner work at Gilgit, but not quite so regularly built. Inside, the whole area is covered, huts are built over it all; these huts are mostly of three stories, the lowest is occupied by the cattle, the second is the usual dwelling-place, and the third is the summer living place; they are lighted by small openings in the roofs. The Raja has a nice set of rooms in one corner. [342]

Besides the country-people, there are 100 irregular sepoys of the Maharaja's army quartered in the fort; they occupy the part next to the walls, while the villagers have the centre. Thus the place is very much crowded. [341]

Bubar, which is also on the left bank, some 15 miles up (6000 feet above the sea), is in the same way a place where the villagers live in the fort; this is a large and prosperous village thick in fruit-trees. Vine is much cultivated; it is grown in small vineyards with the plants at irregular distances, many being old trees; the whole of the vineyard is covered with a framework of sticks supported at a height of from two to four feet above the ground, and over this the vines are trained; some of these vineyards are immediately beneath the walls; they are considered as a good defence to the fort; I think it more likely that the fort is a good defence to the vineyards, which are apt to suffer in a war. [345]

Bubar Fort is not quite so strong as Sher, still it is reckoned one of those which cannot be taken by force—the alternative, treachery, is not an uncommon weapon in these countries.

Gulmutt, *Singul*, and the other villages in this part of the valley, have the dwellings similarly enclosed in forts.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

At evening, the people, who have been occupied in their fields during the day, all come with their cattle within the walls and the gates are closed; all night sentries watch on the towers, and every half hour the "All's well" resounds through the stillness, though it may get less frequent towards the sleepy hours of morning. At dawn an armed party go forth and make the round of all places that might possibly harbour an enemy, and not until their search has proved that the village is clear do others issue for their ordinary avocations. At the time I marched up the valley the Maharaja's relations with the Yāsīn chief were in a doubtful state, on account of the murder of Mr. Hayward, for which we were trying to get reparation; these precautions, therefore, may have been more than usually attended to. I did not myself lodge within the forts, but, having an escort of 200 men from Gilgit, we were able to keep such a look-out as effectually to prevent any surprise.

The highest point in the valley that I went to was Gākūj. This is the last village in Puniāl; it is the farthest in this north-west corner to which the Maharaja's power or influence extends—and hence it is the farthest to which the influence of the Government of India reaches. Gākūj is, by my observations, 6940 feet above the sea; it is on a knob of rock behind which is a sloping plain, all this being 700 feet above the river. It is a cold windy place; snow falls there in winter to a depth varying from 6 inches to 1 foot 6 inches, and it stays three months; here only one crop is grown, while near the level of the river, 600 feet down, two crops are got from the land.

There is a strong fort at Gākūj, containing within it a spring of water; the garrison is composed of the villagers—about fifty fighting men. Part of the plain is cultivated, but beyond that part stretches a narrow stony plain backed by mountains 3000 feet or so high, their sides dotted with pencil-cedar bushes with pine-forest above; this strip of plain extends some eight miles up the valley, at which distance a spur from the mountains comes down and juts against the river, making a natural barrier. This spot, called Hūpar, is the extreme point of the Maharaja's territory;

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

here the Puniāl Raja has a guard of six men, who, on signs of an enemy approaching, would light a signal fire; for this reason no cooking of food is allowed there, so the look-out party take a few days' provisions ready cooked, to last until their relief. To hold the position would require one or two hundred men. There are two roads past it, one of them only can be traversed by horses. At three other places is a guard kept. One on the left bank of the Gilgit River, a little lower down than Gākūj; one is on the left bank of the Ishkoman River (which falls in from the north above Gākūj) and one on its right bank, near, I think, its junction with the main stream; while in summer a guard is pushed nearly a day's march up the Ishkoman Valley. The object is to reach the best look-out place at each particular time of the year, and this must vary as the rivers become fordable or impassable. The Yāsīnīs have a guard at a place called Shedodas, on the left bank, opposite to Hūpar.

It was in November, 1870, that I went through Puniāl. The ruler is Raja Isā Bāgdur (a name sometimes corrupted by strangers to Bahādur). We were together for several days; we travelled in company, and nearly every day I joined him in a game of polo; with such intercourse we naturally became well acquainted. He is a man who has long been at enmity with the Yāsīn family, and now entertains the most lively hatred of them; in the various tides of invasion he has had to flee from his territory and take shelter now in Gilgit, now in Chilās, and now in Kashmir. On the re-conquest of Gilgit by the Maharaja (which will be related in another chapter) he was replaced in his own country, which ever since he has held in faithful dependence on the Maharaja's Government, often under difficult circumstances. Though an old man he is strong and active; he is a capital, even a renowned, rider. In character he is both brave and politic, at the same time cautious and enterprising. He is much feared by his enemies and liked by his people; these obey him implicitly; it is their custom, on meeting him, to go up and kiss his hand; this, I believe, to be the general old custom in Dārdistān, or at all events in that part of it where the government is monarchical.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

the whole length of it. Vineyards abound. Kine and goats are plentiful. Deodar, pine, and oak grow on the hill-sides. Most of the people during summer time live up on the hills, where pasture is to be found. This is a federal republic; but the federal bond seems weak. The people are called by their neighbours Dārele.

Tangir, a republic. It has of old been tributary to Yāsīn; but there is no close connection.

Gor, a republic; it has three forts or villages. It sends a few goats to the Maharaja by way of tribute, and leaves hostages in Astor, but it is practically independent. The people are called Gūrīje.

Thalicha; a small village of seven houses. It is the smallest independent state that I have ever heard of. Its government is republican.

Chilās. This is one of the larger of these republics; its people are called by the other Dārds "Bhute." Some account of the way in which the Chilāsīs used to make raids on their neighbours has been given in Chapter XVII. The Sikhs sent an expedition to Chilās under one Sūja Singh, but it was repulsed; this was when Mīān Singh was the Sikh Governor of Kashmir, about the year 1843. The expedition sent by Maharaja Gulab Singh (in 1850 or '51), and its good effects, have already been spoken of. Since that time the Chilāsīs have been in a sense tributary; they now pay yearly to the Maharaja a tribute of 100 goats and about two ounces of gold-dust; otherwise they are free.

Beyond these, down the Indus Valley, are some places of which I know almost nothing but the name, they are—

Hudar, whose people are called Hudare.			
Bunar.			
Thak,	"	"	Khane.
Harban,	"	"	Bhije.
Thur,	"	"	Thorīje.
Sāzin.			
Kolī,	"	"	Kolūche.
Pālus,	"	"	Palāoche.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

backs bent, feet tired and stumbling, just staggering on for days, with eyes on the ground, perhaps fixed on the heels of the man ahead, their loads only lightened by that which they ate of it—leaving less for the journey back; the man who fell was hardly noticed by those who were with him unless he happened to be a relation.

Gilgit, together with Astor, Bunji, Chilas, Hunza, and a few other places is often referred to as Dardistan. Gilgit is the most important place, being nearest the frontier; a British Political Agency was stationed here. The town of Gilgit is the only town of any importance; it has been built on the Gilgit river at a place which is some miles above where that river joins the Indus, and at a height almost the same as Srinagar.

Much of the Gilgit valley is well cultivated, with fruit trees; in the fields wheat and barley are grown; in those which are available to water, fairly good crops of rice, but where cultivation has not been attempted, the land is barren, though some of the hillsides carry large woods of fir and juniper, and higher still there is birch.

The country is hard, bleak and inhospitable—the sort of place one immediately associates with the word "out-post"; one can imagine the disappointment, if not horror, of a married British officer on learning that he had been posted to that garrison, but it was not so for the single man to whom the great attraction was the shooting and the polo. Like all towns and large villages in the mountains, Gilgit has an excellent polo ground which is still used although the British have gone, for the men of the country excel in horsemanship and polo is their national game.

Just as the valley of Kashmir is the home of the fairy tales, so also are the Gilgiti legends famous for those parts; fortunately a great number of them have been preserved for all time by Britishers who have served there. Many of them are fables, others doubtless have a certain amount of truth in them; they contain the history of that part; in them can be seen the character of the men of Gilgit as they have always been, cruel, hard and fearless, and of their womenfolk, lacking nothing in courage and cruelty.

One story so told will never be lost to the people; there is

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir
Jard AV3

487 described in the article on KASHMÍR. By that route Gilgit lies at a distance of 390 miles from the present railway base at Rāwalpindi. An alternative line has been opened over the Babusar pass, which brings Gilgit within 250 miles of the railway at Hassan Abdāl. This line, besides being shorter, has the advantage of crossing only one snow pass, instead of two, or practically three, if the winter snow at Murree be taken into consideration. The routes to the north are mere tracks, when the military roads connecting Gilgit with the outposts at Gupis and Hunza have been passed.

205 648 Post and telegraph offices. There is a daily postal service with India by the Burzil pass and Kashmīr, and the telegraph line follows the same route. Both services work well in spite of heavy snow and destr ctive avalanches, and are maintained by the Government of India. There is a weekly postal service from Gilgit to Chilās and Gupis, and a fortnightly post between Gilgit and Kashgar via the Kilik pass in the summer, and the Mintaka in the winter.

643 704 Administration, &c. The Gilgit Wazārat is in charge of a Wazīr Wazārat. Crime is slight; there is no jail and no police organization. Police duties are carried out by the levies and a few soldiers of the Kashmīr regular troops. There is little litigation; and the chief business of the Wazīr is the provision of supplies to the garrison at Gilgit, now effected by an excellent system of transport from Kashmīr. In 1891–2, at the time of the Hunza-Nagar expedition, the garrison had a force of 2,451; in 1895, when the Chitrāl disturbances broke out, it consisted of 3,373; and the present garrison numbers 1,887, including a mountain battery, two infantry Imperial Service regiments, and Kashmīr sappers and miners. A school is maintained at Gilgit.

651 Land revenue. A land revenue settlement of Astor and Gilgit has been made. It was found impossible to introduce a purely cash assessment, owing to the State's requirements in grain; but many inequalities and abuses were removed, and, on the whole, the condition of the villagers is satisfactory.

631 643 651 Political relations. A British Political Agent resides at Gilgit. He exercises some degree of supervision over the Wazīr of the Kashmīr State, and is directly responsible to the Government of India for the administration of the outlying districts or petty States of Hunza-Nagar, Ashkuman, Yāsīn, and Ghizar, the little republic of Chilās, and also for relations with Tangir and Darel, over which valleys the Puniāl Rās and the Mehtarjaos of Yāsīn have partially acknowledged claims. These States acknowledge the suzerainty of Kashmīr, but form no part of its territory. They pay an annual tribute to the Darbār-

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Chitral

We remained at Mastuj about a week to give the
Mehtar time to make his preparations for receiving 648
me, to get a little shooting, and to rest our camp. 662
Afzul also was most pressing for us to stay, thinking that every day he spent with me was another nail in Nizam's coffin, another step towards getting the Government of India to recognise him, and not his elder brother, as heir-apparent. Needless to say, Government had not the remotest intention of interfering in any way in the matter.

We beguiled the time during our enforced idleness 133
by moving up the valley and visiting the Chamarkand. This pass leads into the valley we had come by above Ghizr. I had originally meant to use it, but did not owing to the weather: it is in some ways more difficult than the Shandur. The road leading into it from the Mastuj valley winds through a narrow gorge cut through clay, the sides being carved out by water action into the wildest collection of pinnacles and ravines imaginable, with numerous balanced rocks. We came out very light, and I left my personal 000
servants behind. The consequence was that my orderlies put up my camp bed, an English "paragon," without fitting the joints properly, and it smashed irretrievably directly I sat on it. For the next two months I slept on the ground, and in cold weather, when there are no centipedes about, or other horrors, there is no doubt that it is far the most comfortable arrangement, and very much warmer than a bed. My orderlies used to get a lot of *bhoosa*, the broken straw from the threshing floors, and put a foot of it down all over the floor of the tent, stretch my tent carpet over this, and put down the bedding on the top of all. In real cold this makes the most perfect

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Chitral

159 wander apparently aimlessly from subject to subject, but you had to be very careful of what you said or admitted, for, like lightning, would shoot out some sudden searching question about the matter on which his mind was really working. It was his little way, practised I imagined originally as an art, but which had become second nature.

643 The moment was an interesting one to be in
• 648 Chitral: Mahomed Ishák had invaded Afghanistan
159 from Russian Turkestan, Afghan Turkestan had fallen into his hands, the old princes of Wakhan, who had taken refuge in Chitral territory from the Amir, had been summoned by him, and momentarily reinstated in their country, his emissaries were passing through Chitral, and going to Dir, Bajaur, and Swat, endeavouring to raise trouble for the Amir. The Mehtar was very anxious; he was between the devil and the deep sea; he feared the Amir, and rightly, and hated him with a bitter and deadly hatred; he was afraid of the consequences if he espoused Mahomed Ishák's cause, for the success of which he prayed incessantly, and the latter failed in his attempt. On the other hand, Mahomed Ishák made great promises, and, if successful, might be a good friend; he could scarcely be a more dangerous and unpleasant enemy than Abdur Rahman. Altogether, it was a very difficult question, and he came and discussed it with me. I advised him, in what were the interests of Government as well as his own, not to stir up strife: a war once kindled on the frontier spreads frequently in unexpected directions. I pointed out that the Amir was our ally, that we did not desert our allies, and that Government would not be best pleased if the Mehtar

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Chitral

started a conflagration. In the end, whether my counsel had anything to do with it or not, the old gentleman decided to sit on the fence and do nothing.

The Mehtar's views on the condition of frontier affairs were interesting, and his knowledge of men and matters varied and wide. A man does not rule a frontier state forty years for nothing. He saw that, so far as his dynasty and country were concerned, safety lay in alliance with us, danger in any closer intercourse with Afghanistan. For this reason he was delighted to have an unconquered Kafiristan on his flank as a buffer between him and the "God-given Government." He might occasionally, in retaliation for too numerous murders on the part of the Kafirs, raid their country with the object of getting some slaves, but he had no desire to see it conquered, and he was delighted that the Kafirs made the road down towards Asmar, and up the Ashreth valley to the Lowari pass, their happy hunting-ground, and murdered stray Pathans. The more dangerous the road was, the more isolated and safe his state. We discussed many questions, to which I cannot refer, with daily increasing interest and amusement on my part. Some of his ideas with all his shrewdness were very quaint; one of his most persistent demands was that, given any agreement with Government, it should be engraved on a sheet of copper. Some ruffian had persuaded him that no treaty would be binding on us if only written on paper.

My state visit to the Mehtar was most ceremonious. A deputation of his courtiers came and escorted us to the fort, at the gate of which the Mehtar met us, and conducted us to a daïs outside,

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
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The chorus at the Mehtar's durbar was composed of all his men off duty, men from all the neighbouring villages who had come to see the fun, a stray Kafir or two who grinned in a friendly way at us, all the heterogeneous rabble possible to collect in Chitral. The price they paid for being present and looking at the dancing was continued applause, shouts of encouragement to the dancers, in which they were led by an official who was described as the head of the Mehtar's household. He was a very wild-looking creature, who rushed along the ranks of the spectators dressed in a scarlet cloth choga, and armed with a big ornamented stick, with which he belaboured any of the crowd who did not shout loud enough. After we had sat through the performance for some time the Mehtar rose, and, taking me by the hand, escorted me along a narrow path made by laying down cotton cloth, white and coloured, and stuffs of various kinds, finishing in a strip of sham kinkob, all of which became the perquisite of my servants after I had passed over it. The path led along the faces of the fort to the private garden, from which there was a door leading to the household offices and ladies' apartments. In the garden we found a tent pitched, into which we entered, followed by three or four of the Mehtar's most important sons and nobles.

Directly we had sat down the Mehtar began an oration which lasted an hour, with interruptions to drink iced water, and to rub snuff on his gums, the Chitrali way of taking this most seductive form of the weed. The upshot of his discourse was that

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
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643 he was a faithful servant of the British Government, and that he wanted various things, mostly
• 648 rifles and money. Some of his remarks were
159 amusing, as when looking a Kashmiri officer full in the face he said that he had been in the habit, in the old days, of beating the Kashmiris and looting them, but that out of consideration for us he had abandoned this source of revenue. All this time I was getting horribly hungry; we generally breakfasted about eleven, and had been fetched away from camp just before our breakfast was ready, and it was long past two before the Mehtar showed signs of having talked himself out. There was nothing for me to say beyond the usual diplomatic *banalités* about the assurances I had received from the Viceroy's and the Foreign Secretary's lips of the interest felt by the Government in the welfare of Chitral, and of their personal regard for the renowned chief who ruled its destinies. The whole thing was a sort of full-dress debate, the object of which, on the Mehtar's part, was to let it be known throughout Chitral, and in the adjacent Pathan countries, Asmar, Dir, and Bajour, that he was definitely putting himself on the side of the British Government, and under its powerful protection.

644 The Mehtar, having thoroughly talked himself out,
262 departed, leaving Afzul-ul-Mulk to do host. The dinner was excellent of its kind, and we were introduced to various famous royal dishes, about the best being large flat unleavened cakes of bread full of minced meat, and sweet omelets made with honey.

000 I remained some time in Chitral, seeing the

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
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181 time, their rapidity in movement, and intimate knowledge of their country, and its capabilities for defence, would make them dangerous enemies to a small invading force, and valuable auxiliaries while on the winning side.

175 Events proved the justness of the opinion then
181 formed and recorded. A few years later saw Chitral in the throes of civil war, and a Mehtar in possession one day, ousted and flying the next, after the fall of a position attended with the loss of one man. The feeble resistance made to Colonel Kelly's advance by the Chitralis, though holding splendidly defensible positions, the secondary part played by the Chitralis in the memorable siege of Chitral, when all the real fighting was done by Umra Khan's Pathans, and the skill they showed in cutting off small parties of Sikhs, all went to prove that, though not wanting in courage and endurance, they lack the tenacity and grit which is wanted to enable men to face severe loss and to make real soldiers. As Napoleon says, "*Un homme ce n'est pas un soldat.*" The Chitrali is wanting in the something which makes a soldier.

643 I found that the Mehtar had no conception of our
648 real strength, no standard by which to judge our power. He undervalued our troops, his only idea of a standing army being taken from the old Kashmir regulars, a body with whose name disaster was associated, and some of which he had himself defeated, driven into the fort of Gilgit, and besieged there.
643 His sons and leading men who had been to India had
648 not seen enough of our troops for their reports on
743 them to impress him. One thing I found he was most anxious to have, and that was a properly

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Chitral

643 organised hospital and dispensary at Chitral, under a
646 good native doctor; that this was to be at our expense
743 went without saying. I am glad to say I was able to arrange this, a hospital was established next year, and it has flourished and done much good in the country.

431 Before leaving Chitral I sent the Mehtar the pre-
[576] sents I had brought up for him. The local etiquette forbade the gifts being offered in public, as everything so received had at once to be given away. My presents, therefore, were taken to the Mehtar by my head orderly. They consisted of a double-barrel express rifle, a pair of shot guns, and a miscellaneous assortment comprising silver goblets, cutlery, gold cloth from Benares, silks and broadcloths; and as the ladies were to be propitiated, carefully-graduated collections of rich brocades, silks, embroidered muslins, looking-glasses, jewelled trinkets, and last, but not least, boxes of scented soap and cases of perfumery. I was careful to ascertain the proper proportion to be observed in graduating the presents for the Mehtar's leading wives, and had a solemn interview with his minister on the subject. The result was excellent, and to my surprise and satisfaction I found that the Mehtar was delighted with the presents, and valued them at considerably more than treble what they had cost in India, and that the ladies were extremely
[577] pleased with theirs. The Mehtar's appreciation of some of my gifts was amusing. He was much taken with a nest of silver cups in a case, the innermost of which was shaped like a champagne glass. He was delighted with this, and pointed out that it would be most useful as a spittoon when he chewed snuff. The

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AVI Kashmir
Dardavi
Chitral

ladies, I heard, revelled in the soap; and, judging from the men, I should say it was needed.

From Chitral I sent letters to Peshawar through Dir and Bajour, and asked permission to come back to India that way. The Peshawar authorities said afterwards we should have had our throats cut had we attempted it. This, "from information received," I did not believe, and in any case it was worth trying, as we had no accurate knowledge of the road. The Khan of Dir and Umra Khan of Jandol were ready to pass me through their territories, and as both wished to come to an understanding with Government, I believed the opportunity to be a good one, more especially as the Mehtar had at the moment considerable influence with them both, and was prepared to do all in his power to assist me in the attempt, believing that Government would take any help given me by him into consideration. However, the fates were against me, and I did not get permission. I arranged to spend the time pending the receipt of an answer in visiting the Dorah, Agram, Nuksan, and Katinza passes, leading over the Hindu-Kush into Badakshan, but the early setting in of the snowfall rendered it impossible for me to visit the last three, and I had to content myself with the Dorah, the main pass, over which runs a rough kafila or caravan road, which has from time immemorial connected Badakshan through Chitral, Dir, and Swat with India.

I had a final interview with the Mehtar before leaving Chitral, and he presented me at parting with the usual number of horses, and with some fur coats, one of which was much admired when I wore it in

4: Durand G-8 (1888-93) 1900 AVI Kashmir
Dard A43
Chitral

Agent in Chitral also came, and had a long talk to me in the morning, during which he inveighed against Rahat Mian, and unfolded his many villainies. Rahat Mian was a study, an old man with a very shrewd face, and an expression entirely under control. He used to sit during my long talks with the Mehtar with a pomegranate in his hand, cutting out all sorts of fantastic geometrical patterns in the rind with a sharp penknife, watching everybody out of the corner of his eye and never losing a word. He produced a letter from Mahomed Ishák, which he said the Mehtar had intercepted, and our Agent praised his loyalty and devotion to Government, and begged that I would bring his services to notice, he having told me all about the letter an hour before, and how copies had been sent post haste weeks ago to their destination. It was interesting to watch the two who hated each other with a deadly hatred, each knowing the other was lying, and both profuse in their compliments and expressions of affection.

Diplomacy in the Hindu-Kush is an interesting game to watch; the men intrigue from their cradle; it is an amusement as well as the business of life. For an Englishman the only safe course is the honest one; he must think pretty carefully before he speaks, and then speak plainly. Every word must prove true, every promise must be fulfilled to the letter; following on these lines a man in the end will get the influence he wants. At first the native diplomatist will not believe him, and will search for hidden meanings, but in the end he will have confidence in this strange being who plays the game on such hitherto unheard-of lines. But the Englishman who believes

4c Durand G-3 (1888-92) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Chitral

anything which is told him will get into difficulties. You must learn to disbelieve any story told you, however plausible, unless you have proof positive from other sources of its accuracy; your first thought when any statement is made must always be what is the speaker's motive, especially if he has told you the truth. No man ever approaches the object he aims at directly. By roundabout and devious paths he will lead up to his point, which is perhaps only brought out casually at the end of a long interview. You live in an atmosphere of falsehood and deceit, the men you do business with lying freely and unblushingly on every available occasion; but they bear you no ill-will when you expose their little lapses, and at once set to work to weave some new plot. The Mehtar was a past master in the art, and it was a never-failing source of excitement and interest to have dealings with him. We got to know each other fairly well by the end of the next four years.

In the afternoon of the last day we spent together we went off to look on at polo. The game was dull, for the players were indifferent, and the ground, at each end of which cropped up huge rocks, was half under water. But the show was diversified by the Mehtar producing various rifles, and making some very fine shooting at a mark across the polo ground, firing over the heads of the players. Then followed the usual dances, one a sword dance to the music of the royal band, the drummer in which, who had only one tooth in his upper jaw, fascinated Robertson and me by his excitement and animation, throwing his arms about frantically, his whole face lighting up,

4: Durand G-3 (1888-95) 1900 AV1 Kashmir AV1
Dard AV3
Chitral

accompany him, go to England, get instruction in the use of instruments, collect all he wanted for his longer exploration, come up to Gilgit the following year, and again enter Kafiristan. The flying visit would give him a good idea of the difficulties he would be likely to encounter, and of the outfit which would be most suitable. A proposal on these lines was drawn up and sent off at once to India, and was eventually sanctioned by Government. The scheme was successfully carried out, as readers of Robertson's book on Kafiristan know.

On arrival at Gakuch I found letters from the Mehtar warning me that Raja Akbar Khan of Punyal, in league with the people of Darel and Tangir, in the Indus Valley, had arranged to attack my camp a day's march from Gakuch. The Mehtar solemnly warned me against coming by the direct road over the Shandur to Chitral, and begged me to wait till Nizam-ul-Mulk came to escort me with a suitable force. I was then to march by the Yasin Valley, cross the Darkot Pass, and reach Chitral by the upper road. The whole thing was a plot got up to embroil me if possible with Akbar Khan, whom the Mehtar hated, and to show the necessity for his being supplied by Government with arms in order to be able to repel attacks from Yaghistan, as the independent territory in the Indus Valley is called. The Mehtar had over-reached himself for once, for I had sent trustworthy men into both Darel and Tangir some time before, and they had just returned reporting everything quiet. Further, he had mentioned as Akbar Khan's accomplice in the plot the man whom I knew to be the latter's bitterest enemy. I wrote

4: Durand C-8 (1888-92) 1900 Art Section A V
Durd A V3
Chitral

K 648 D 648 at once to the Mehtar saying that I should come by the Shandur or not at all, and that I expected him to make the necessary arrangements for the safety of our party. At the same time I wrote to our native Agent who would, I knew, pass on the gist of my letter to the Mehtar, that the latter's story was untrue. I told him that if my camp was attacked it would be at the Mehtar's instigation, and that if he could not guarantee the safety of a small party of British officers marching through his country the Government of India would attach very little importance to his friendship, and that there would certainly be no question of receiving any proof of its good will.

000 I then sat down at Gakuch for a week to give my letters time to arrive, knowing my hint would be sufficient, and that I should hear no more of impending attacks. It would have been stupid to go on at once, for had an attack come off I should have been naturally blamed by Government for disregarding the Mehtar's warning, and I should have played into my old friend's hands. I knew he was quite capable of arranging a small fight, so that he might reap the reward of having come to my assistance. There was plenty to do at Gakuch. We selected the site for a fort which was to be my headquarters when I visited Punyal, had beats for brown bear, shot chickor, went into the question of establishing a dispensary, and inspected various water-courses which wanted the assistance of skilled labour to improve them, and to bring much land now lying waste under cultivation. There were also interminable but interesting interviews with our friends the Punyal Chiefs.

Dard No 3
Chitral

Finally the Mehtar's Agent at Gilgit, who had 145
preceded me to make arrangements for our march, returned to enquire the reason of our not following him. He came to see me, full of indignation at the idea of an attack in the Mehtar's territory being for a moment considered possible. He loudly averred that the whole story was a lie; I said it might be so, but when his master himself wrote and warned me, what was I to do. He was very angry, and said the Mehtar had been deceived, which, considering his knowledge of the frontier, was hardly likely. Altogether it was rather an unpleasant scene, and showed the importance of warning diplomatic agents of an intended coup.

Next day we started, as I calculated that the Mehtar's letter in reply should reach me at the first Chitrali fort across the frontier. We were met by a great deputation of Nizam-ul-Mulk's head men, amongst whom were many old acquaintances. The marching was now delightful, the stream a dream of beauty, its banks aglow with autumn colouring, and snow falling nightly on the hill-tops. At one camp two soldiers from Badakshan, refugees from the Amir's knife, came to see me. The Mehtar had given them asylum, and of course wished to pass them on to our care. They looked very down and unhappy, and I was very sorry for them, but beyond giving them some temporary assistance could do nothing. It was a miserable position for them, wanderers dependent on the charity of a poor and close-fisted Chief, who naturally did not wish to have his country turned into a refuge for penniless exiles. The Mehtar was bound to assist them by

A Dawood G-4 (1889-92) 1889 A91 Kashmir
Da-4 A-3
Chil-ral

●477 the traditions of them with emotion, where a man never knows what his own fate may be. A ruler must extend such hospitality as is in his power, so that if it should come to his turn he may receive the same treatment.

050 Throughout the march, to keep up the fiction of danger from the Indus Valley, we were furnished with a numerous escort; and strong guards were posted on the passes, from whom hourly messages were received that all was well. Afzul-ul-Mulk met us outside Chanki with a large following, and escorted us into camp. It was the usual medley, a crowd of mounted and dismounted men in velvets, cloth of gold, Bokhara silks and woollen homespun. The effect, as our horses splashed through the glittering crystal of the ford, was very picturesque; shields and arms flashed in the sunlight, and the gay colours of the horsemen and the darker mass of the footmen, winding through the autumn-tinted scrub jungle, made a scene which would have delighted an artist. Afzul marched with us for several days, till he left us to go on ahead and make preparations for our reception at Mastuj. Like all Chitralis, he hated riding a march fast, and, as the roads this year were much improved and we disliked riding at a foot's pace, we used to march comfortably, our party, as a rule, getting some shooting en route. Afzul used to come to my tent and have long talks every day, discussing every possible subject, and full of enquiries as to the political conditions and modes of government of the different European states whose names he knew. He was much shocked to hear that Lord Dufferin had

G. Durand C-3 (1888-89) 1900 Afg Kashmir Afg
Dard Afg
Chitral

offensive, and much in fear of the Chilasis, who in any raids in the Gilgit direction had to pass through their territory. The fighting force of Goz was insignificant, and the little state was tributary to Kashmir. The next republic was Darel; it was more important than Goz, and could turn out from a thousand to fifteen hundred men. The Durbar troops had in 1866 penetrated into the country, the people of which had made submission, and every year hostages were sent in to Kashmir, and a small tribute paid. Tangir, which lay next, was about equal in importance to Darel, and paid tribute to the rulers of Yasin. Below these tribes stretched a band of country inhabited by Kohistanis of different clans until the Pathan border was reached.

I found on my arrival at Gilgit that the Goz headmen had expressed their anxiety to come more directly under the protection of Kashmir. They were anxious to avoid being drawn into trouble should the Chilasis, as seemed likely, create disturbances, and to throw in their lot openly with Kashmir seemed to offer them the best chance of security. In a few days their representative deputation arrived, and after listening to their views I dismissed them to their homes with suitable presents, pointing out that they had nothing to fear from our side.

Rather disturbing news now began to come from Chitral. Umra Khan of Jandol had moved over his border, and occupied a portion of Chitral territory, and Afzul-ul-Mulk clamoured for the despatch of the mission. The arrival of a mission and his recognition as Mehtar by the Government of India would

4c Durand G-9 (1888-93) 1900 AVI Kashmir
Durd Acq
Chitral

strengthen his hands, and would tend to prevent aggression from the neighbouring powers. To my disgust but not surprise, for I knew the little savage well, he had signalised his acquisition of the throne by wholesale murders of his elder brother's adherents, and had killed three of his brothers in cold blood. However it was no business of mine to interfere, and I could only watch from a distance. Robertson was very anxious to reciprocate the advances made by the Gor people, and I suggested to the Government of India that the wishes of their representative should be acceded to, and that he should visit the country. Sanction was accorded to the proposal, and early in November Robertson started for Gor.

The day he was to leave Bunji came a messenger in frantic haste, bearing the news that Sher Afzul, a brother of the old Mehtar, who had been in exile for years in Afghanistan a pensioner of the Amir's, had crossed the frontier by the Dorah, surprised and killed Afzul-ul-Mulk in his fort of Chitral, and proclaimed himself Mehtar. This was bad, but the most serious news was that he had proclaimed a religious war against us, that our native agent and doctor were in danger of their lives, and that troops were being collected and hurried towards Yasin, the tract of Chitral just beyond our borders. Later in the day the late Mehtar's minister and the Governor of Mastuj rode up to my door. I could hardly recognise in the haggard travel-stained man, carrying his favourite son on his saddle-bow, who swung himself off his horse and stood broken with hard riding before me, the picturesque, cheery gentleman,

113, 648 Dard AV3

[For additional information pertaining to international relations from 1842-1873, see 1; Drew, AV1 Kashmir, category 116, pp. 435-455 passim.]